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512 eat, made ready by some woman who has been at home during the forenoon, but, whether or no, the toilers will probably retire into their houses for the siesta.

512 513 If the day be warm there will be drowsiness in the village atmosphere and almost universal somnolence among its inhabitants for an hour or two after midday.

The Evening's Recreation

512 252 The real activity of the village commences at about three o'clock. The women will soon begin peeling the taro, each seated on the ground before her own house. The diurnal grand repast is in preparation, and what with the peeling of vegetables and the cooking of them a housewife has perhaps an hour and a half of final work to do. Not that this is hard or unpleasant, but rather of a sociable nature, for little groups gather round the pot in which the taro is slowly seething under a covering of leaves. The men have risen from their rest and may foregather to chew betel or will sit before their respective houses renewing some sedentary task of yesterday—for such tasks may drag on unconscionably. Often a man is content with the society of his immediate [854] family, playing fondly with his younger children and carrying an infant in his arms.

512 301 302 883 Women and girls will go for water, and youths perhaps for firewood. Young bloods may appear, with a dash of paint on their cheeks and an ornament of boar's tusk or shell on their breasts. Their hair is glossy and greasy and their fine young figures set off with a sheen of coco-nut oil. In the most indirect manner and with a somewhat studied nonchalance they are, if the truth be known, bent on courtship, desiring principally to show off their masculine charms in those quarters where it suits them.

512 526 As the cool of the evening approaches the village grows more animated. If one game or another happens to be in vogue, youths of all ages will be boisterously engaged in it. The favourite games of the Orokaiva have something of war or chase about them. A number of players, with darts poised for throwing, stand in a kind of extended order while one boy bowls a disk-shaped section of banana stem along

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227 In the more usual method the hook is made of sago thorns or those of the plant called *simegi* (apparently a kind of palm). The line is first threaded through an earthworm by means of a thin sharp sliver. Then three thorns (about 1 inch long) are bound together by means of the line itself and thrust into the worm so that the points project upwards, and thus

FIG. 12. Worm Bait and Hook.

constitute a hook. Line fishing is done by hand and the bait is allowed to dangle in the water.

226 *Poisoning.* The last, but not the least important, of fishing methods is that of poisoning, which is practised by all tribes in the inland creeks and pools. The poison is usually [278] obtained from the vine *Anisi* (*Kanesi*, *Ainsi*), a variety of derris; though certain other poisonous plants with the native names *Ondoto*, *Pogera*, and *Imanya* are used, as well as the recently introduced chilli. Water is bailed out of the pool or sometimes run off by means of a race or gutter, and when it is sufficiently shallow the root of the *Anisi* is pounded on a log. It exudes a highly poisonous milky fluid which permeates the water and brings the fish stupefied to the surface.

Sago Making

252 262 Among the River People sago is a never-failing food supply, for on the lower reaches of the rivers large tracts of swamps are, I believe, not even explored by the natives, and their resources are but lightly tapped. Inland, where it [423] is comparatively rare, trees are definitely owned and husbanded. Sago, however, is not a favourite food with the Orokaiva, and it is for the most part when his taro gives out that he resorts to it; and since this is likely to be in the midst of a partial drought, when the swamps themselves may have

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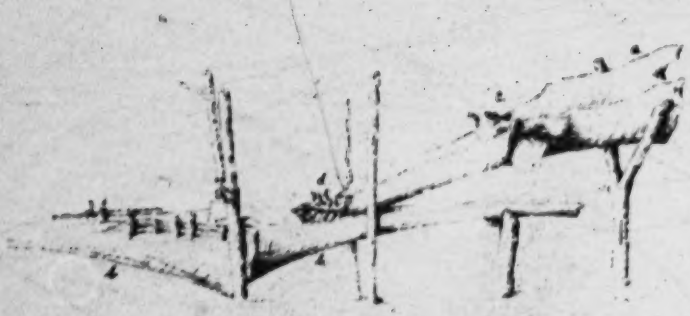

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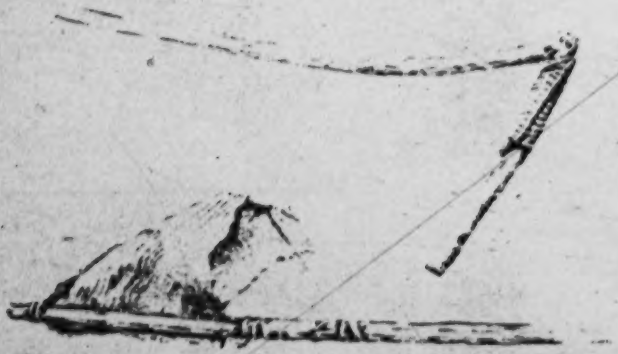
(*a*) *Beo* or Kneading Trough. (*b*) *Ingi Gau* or Settling Troughs. (*c*) *Usisi* or Strainer of Coco-nut Fibre. (*d*) *Kuoro* or Strainer of Coco-nut Leaves.



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Above, *Enai* or Sago-scraper; *below*, *Gopiri* or Water-scoop

PLATE XII

[facing p. 58]

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252 dried up, the sago-maker's work, which requires a good
262 supply of water, is not always easy.

The branches or fronds—often armed with the sharpest of thorns—being lopped from the selected tree, the leaves are spread on the swampy ground to make a temporary floor. The broad spathes are peeled off and the tree is felled. Next a section of bark is prised off and the sago-maker, taking his seat astride the trunk, proceeds to use his scraper (*evai*), which is hafted on to a forked branch so as to form a hammer-shaped implement. (The point of the hammer is slightly cupped and hardened in fire.) He accompanies his rhythmical strokes with strange ejaculations and musical cries, *eyeveyeyeyeye, o-dego-o-o-o-o o-deg-o-o-o-o*, and such-like, of which he cannot give any explanation. The pith is transferred from time to time to the trough at which another man is working. The apparatus is shown on Plate XII (*a*).

252 The kneading trough (*a*) (*beo*) is made of a sago branch,
417 so also are the settling troughs (*b*) (*ingi-gau*) placed end to end
412 and carefully adjusted. The narrow ends of these may be raised or lowered, and any leaks are stopped with leaves. The sago pith is kneaded in (*a*) and constantly watered. The real sago is carried down in suspension by the water, and passing through the two strainers at (*c*) and (*d*) settles in the trough. The first strainer, made of coco-nut fibre, is called *usisi*; the second, merely a bunch of sago leaves, is called *kuoro*. If the trough is too shallow its edges are raised by sago leaflets fastened on as if with clothes-pegs. An ingenious water-scoop (*gopiri*) is made from a sheet of sago spathe. The harder surface is chopped away until only a thin leathery sheet remains. This is doubled and bound into the cleft of a sago midrib, and any leaks are patched with leaves. The supports or props for the troughs are often made of sections of the sago midrib, so that it is interesting to note how the whole apparatus, with the exception of the scraper (*evai*) and the coco-nut-fibre strainer (*usisi*) may be fashioned from the sago palm itself.

252 The sago soon settles in the settling trough, forming a pulpy mass. When the kneading is finished the water is run off and the mass of sago is pressed and pounded into

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lumps of the requisite size. These are rapidly singed in a fire of dry leaves and so acquire a brown glazed surface, a sort of tough skin which preserves the interior against moisture. The work is now finished. The glazed lump of sago is neatly bound with sago leaves, packed into the hollow of a sago branch, and carried home. Under favourable conditions two or three men will easily make 100 lb. in a day.

Collecting

The Orokaiva is a collector only by necessity or opportunity. When a prolonged drought in the South-East season causes a scarcity of food, collecting assumes importance, and a reduced diet must be eked out with roots, leaves, and fern fronds. While it is only under such stress that he collects systematically, he nevertheless keeps his eye open at all times for chance blessings when he is working or travelling. For tearing down betel pepper (*bingi*) or the somewhat rare fruits of the bush he will tie a pair of poles together and bind on a small oblique peg at the end to make a hook. This crude improvisation called *kainpo* may have a reach of 30 feet. The native is, moreover, a nimble and daring climber. If, however, neither his *kainpo* nor his climbing are equal to the occasion, he will fell a large tree for the sake of a little honey or even a nest of edible insects.

Frogs, snails, and fresh-water bivalves are collected by the humbler hands of women, but not in any quantity; they amount to nothing more than savouries.

Domesticated Animals

The Pig. The village pig and the wild pig are of the same species, the latter being continually domesticated. When a wild sucking-pig is captured by hunters, it is brought to the village and gradually tamed. Its roving and lawless nature may be restrained by the constant companionship of a long stick tied to its hind leg; it is fed and petted, its ears are snipped, it is castrated, and finally becomes as nearly domesticated as any other native pig. It is accustomed to forage about the village and to roam the neighbouring bush,

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smallish and in colouring resembles a brown leghorn with large sweeping tail-feathers; the hen is a neat little white or brown bird. The wings are well developed and the native fowl is often capable of flying to the top of a coco-nut palm. It is kept for eating or for its feathers; natives do not appear to fancy the eggs greatly. The cock is treasured principally on account of his long tail-feathers, which are shamelessly plucked; though natives realize that a European has queer notions regarding cruelty to dumb creatures, and more than once, inquiring about a tailless rooster, I have been assured that its feathers were torn out by a dog.

Preparation of Food

Fire-making. The indigenous method of fire-making is that of the stick and groove. From their mountain neighbours on the south the Orokaiva have learnt in recent times the saw method, with split stick and rattan. This is said to be more effective, but is not as yet very widely known.

The stick and groove method is called *kaja*, i.e. 'thrust', as, e.g., with a spear. The smaller stick is called *bi-kai* (*bi* = penis; *kai* is the root of *kaiari* or *kajari* = thrust). A shaving is peeled back on the piece of wood which acts as base. The *bi-kai* is grasped in both hands, knuckles up and thumbs down, and worked back and forth with increasing speed, till it is suddenly brought to a stop pressing into the end of the groove, where a little pile of smoking wood-dust has accumulated. If this is smouldering it is gently coaxed and blown and then transferred to a coco-nut husk. Although signed-on boys bring back matches to the villages, it is by no means to be imagined that the primitive method of fire-making has gone out of use.

Cooking. There is but one regular meal in the Orokaiva day, viz. in the evening. The housewife peels her taro and cuts it into lumps with a sharp oyster-shell or a keen-edged piece of coco-nut shell. She adds various leaves and herbs for flavouring, among the commonest being that of the taro itself, first carefully freed from its stalk and ribs. She may spray condiments out of her mouth into the pot, and finally covers it with leaves and allows it to seethe. From the

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earthenware pot (*obu*) the cooked taro is transferred to smaller pots, wooden bowls (*teva*), or coco-nut shells, in which it is served.

Food is placed in front of the principal people present, and the others soon group themselves round the various dishes. There is none but a tacit invitation, simply a jerk of the head. The meal goes on for the most part in silence—that is, in respect of conversation, though not always in respect of mastication and swallowing. The only table utensils are coco-nut spoons (*age*), in the form of little boat-shaped scoops, and three- or four-pronged forks (*sagi*) made of bone or wood. The latter, however, are said to be old men's implements. It was suggested that they were needed because of the clumsiness of an old man's fingers, but the fact is that there is something honorific about them. A young man would not feel at home with a *sagi*; he would be, in a manner, exceeding his rights.

Nearly all Orokaiva cooking is done in earthenware pots. They are even carried on expeditions. But on emergency there is the method of cooking with hot stones. The food is placed on a layer of leaves upon the hot stones; more leaves and more hot stones are laid on top, and the food slowly bakes. The method of cooking in a pit, with heated stones below and above is known, but I have never seen it put into practice. It is alluded to in some of the legends and is presumably an old fashion. The boiling of water by heated stones is used in fumigation. The medicines are placed together with water in a wooden dish (*teva*), and when the heated stones are thrown in, the steam rises and the sick man stoops over it to be fumigated.

Salt. The native shows the usual craving for salt, so that among the inlanders it is useful pay for carriers. Visiting the coast, these inlanders will even take calabashes and bring them home full of sea-water. The only means of obtaining it locally is by burning certain leaves and the husks of coco-nut or *Tauga* nuts. Over a layer of dry wood are set a number of large pottery fragments, and over these again are piled the leaves and husks. Ignited, the pile smokes abundantly, and when it has burnt away leaves a residue of

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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342 [177] village scuffles. The old-fashioned house has been for the most part replaced by the 'European' model. This does not always mean any great change, save that the new house is loftier and airier and frequently possesses an annexe or 'kitchen' which seems as a rule to serve any purpose but a culinary one. But the general improvement is undeniable. The true native dwellings of the Orokaiva were so poor that W. E. Armit, an early resident magistrate, described them as 'miserable little things, small ramshackle erections', and referred to an Opi village as 'a collection of squalid hovels'.[1]

The original Orokaiva house (*mande*) is oblong and very low. The floor proper (*gaga*) is raised on piles, but the space beneath is roughly walled in so as to form a closed compartment called *su*. Above the floor proper there is often an interior platform or shelf (*babari*) forming, as it were, a third story under the slope of the roof, but as a rule only along one side of the house, so that it resembles a sleeping-berth more than anything else. The ridged roof is so low that a man cannot stand upright on the *gaga*. The essential part of the whole structure is the *gaga*. This is built first on strong piles of its own, and then the roof supports and the walls are built around it independently save for bindings of split cane. In some cases, indeed, the walls are wholly separate from the *gaga*, which is enclosed as it were in a box. The piles and main posts are of various hard-woods, but the other timbers are soft and far from durable. The walls of the true native house consist of rails or logs laid horizontally, but in the more modern style their place has been taken by branch-midribs of the sago palm set vertically. The thatching is of sago leaf.

The interior of the house is dark, warm, and smoky. It contains a variety of pots, wood bowls, string bags, pig-nets, water calabashes, and other domestic paraphernalia; [251] maybe several bags of *Puga* nuts, blocks of sago, and drying *Tauga* nuts attached to poles and suspended under the ridge-pole. [252] Cooking is done out of doors in fine weather, and at other times underneath the house in the *su*. In cold weather

[1] *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, pp. 90; 87.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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The singing is called sometimes *kasamba*, sometimes *tinogu*: the second word, like the first, is one of the new Taro vocabulary, presumably belonging to the Binandele dialect, but used nowadays by Taro men among the Aiga, for instance, in preference to their own word *peungu*. As so often with native songs, the meaning is very obscure, even to the singers; and sometimes the theme, when it is discovered, appears somewhat beside the mark. Mr. Elder writes, regarding the Taro songs, 'some of them had little or nothing to do with taro. One for instance ran, "I'm a duck, I'm a duck, a jamb in the river, I'm a duck"'. And he not ineptly adds, 'I fancy the Taro worshipper who composed that song must secretly have been an unbeliever, and a bit of a humorist'. But very commonly the song consists of a series of apostrophes to the taro, a kind of salutation or hailing of it by name, with the cry of welcome, '*Oroda!*' which is a countersign of the cult. Thus one may hear, '*Oroda Kaiva, oroda Porowe, Ovivi!*' &c., in endless musical repetition; or '*Ba de aja borejo*', 'Mother taro increase', and similar phrases, little canticles in which praise, exhortation, and prayer are combined. Very often it is futile to search too deeply for a meaning, because the words of the song have been learned by rote, and so confused in the course of transmission that they have become little better than gibberish. But whatever their meaning or lack of it, the songs are understood to contribute in some way to the growth of the taro; and some informants have declared that the Taro spirits heard them and responded.

As the Taro men have adopted a new name for the feast—*kasamba* instead of the old-fashioned *pona*—so they have introduced certain new formalities into the conduct of the feast. Taro must be cut up into small lumps; when cooked it must be ranged in a row of boat-shaped wooden dishes *teo*, or the large platters made of canoe-board and called *betaia*; from the earthenware cooking-pot it must be transferred to the wooden dish by means of the

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wooden fork or prong called *orai*; the really correct implement for peeling it before cooking is the black oyster-shell *yowa*. These very trivial points are accorded a good deal of importance, because, one and all, they have been impressed upon the Taro men by the spirits. One man, for instance, met his deceased *imbo*, or maternal uncle, in a dream, and was directed to make 'forks' from a certain kind of tree named *aima*. The forks, of which there was now a large supply in the village, were merely pointed pieces of wood, painted a dull red with clay; but they appeared to possess a sanctity out of all proportion to their appearance or utility. It would be impossible to tell how often forks, wooden dishes, platters, and so forth have been bestowed upon various dreamers by the spirits of the taro or the spirits of the dead.

It has been said already that dancing is not a marked feature of the Taro cult, although the Orokaiva have developed the dance to an admirable degree of perfection in their older ceremonies. Hitherto the devotees of the cult have been only too ready to find satisfaction in the absurd and sometimes hideous antics which are presently to be described. Some sects perform a stationary and others a sort of processional dance, both of which compare very unfavourably with the graceful and animated ballet which is the best product of Orokaiva art. There are, however, certain dances belonging to minor sects which seem to conform to the older style. Buninia himself originated such a dance, which has already been mentioned (p. 13). Yavevi, a disciple of the Manau cult, used to perform with his followers one of unusual complexity. The *Hobora*, or 'Rooster', men reproduced in a nature dance certain characteristic actions of the domestic cock, and theirs was one of the prettiest performances it has been my good fortune to see among Orokaiva dancers. But it is still true that the dance is, as yet, only a minor and ill-developed feature of the cult. The Taro men prefer as a rule to sit down as they sing. A *tinogu* or *kasamba* may be merely impromptu, when it is per-

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western part of the Division, it cannot be said that sago is anywhere scarce. The mode of preparation is simple and expeditious: it consists in kneading and watering the pith which has been scraped from the trunk, in allowing the sago to be carried off in suspension, and in leaving it to settle in a trough. The apparatus is prepared almost wholly from parts of the sago palm itself, and, except for the scraper and a strainer or sieve of coco-nut fibre, may be extemporized on the spot. The finished product is known as 'wet' sago, being a solid block of which the surface is hardened and glazed by scorching. The natives do not find it necessary to dry the product for their own use, and probably know nothing of the process. In the inland districts where the trees are sometimes individually owned sago is highly prized, and young palms, I am told, may be transplanted. In the large swamps the system is one of clan ownership, and as far as I know there is no sort of culture of the palms.

As a collector the Orokaiva is again an opportunist. Only in time of scarcity, it would appear, does he or his wife go out expressly to gather fern fronds and leaves—the pidgin English 'cabbage'; but wherever he goes he keeps his eye open for food—honey (for which he will fell a tree and smoke out the bees), clusters of somewhat insipid wild figs, nuts, snails, even a nest of flying ants.

He has certain trees, however, which afford a regular supply of food, viz. bread-fruit in several varieties, the *Tauga* nut, and the cycad *Puga*. The bush does not abound in fruit: of the numerous representatives of the genus *Ficus* only a few are edible, none very tempting, and the wild mango is comparatively rare. [There are some poisonous fruits and plants, chief among them the creeper called 'New Guinea Dynamite', used by the natives for fishing and suicides.] But they have definite opinions as to what may be eaten and what must be left alone, being presumably brought up to this knowledge. [I have seen a little child scolded for mouthing a leaf of 'New Guinea Dynamite' growing in the village.] Although

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edible fruits are rare, there is a very fine red or yellow ball called *Hega* which is plentiful and which annoys the thirsty traveller by its resemblance to an orange. It is in fact, as the natives say, only food for devils.

3. *Garden Products: their Introduction and Distribution*

The products of native horticulture in the Northern Division may be roughly classified. The list opposite is fairly complete in the more important items.

In addition to the list there are some garden herbs and plants used as spinach, or flavouring to the cooked taro. The native names of the most important, as far as I know them, are *Ombi*, *Taramu*, and *Nyaditi*. Lastly, there is a list of ornamental plants—croton in countless varieties, striated dracaena, crimson amaranth, and flame-coloured or magenta coxcombs—which add much to the brightness and charm of a village or a sunny garden-clearing, and which have in some cases a magical as well as an ornamental value; and besides these a number of scented plants which a native loves for their own sake and for the seductive fragrance which is meant to make him an irresistible lover.

If we select the products which are of real importance to the Orokaiva they will make a much shorter list. They are taro (the staple diet), yams, and sweet potatoes (both of them no more than subsidiary), *ina* and sugar-cane, bananas and plantains, coco-nut and betel palms.

The Orokaiva are essentially taro people. The plant is grown universally and in a great number of varieties.[1] It is easily cultivated, nutritious, and, prepared by a native housewife, very appetizing. The cook's habit of spraying condiments out of her mouth over the pot may daunt the inquisitive European who would otherwise be willing to sample her work, but there is no denying

[1] I have the names of seventeen varieties, distinguishable by various properties of leaf, stalk, tuber, &c. There are no doubt many more. Codrington notes the great variety of taro. Of yams, incidentally, he listed no less than eighty varieties in the small island of Mota (Codrington, *Melanesians*, pp. 304, 319).

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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252 that a plate of firm morsels, the size of potatoes, impregnated with the juices of savory leaves and set off with a few scraps of fish or dried iguana, presents at least a sufficiently attractive *tout ensemble.*

244 The relative distributions of the taro and the yam are interesting. Whereas among the mountain people of the Hydrographers and the Koiaris of the Central Range the yam is probably the mainstay of existence, its place is taken by the taro among the Orokaiva plainsmen. In the piedmont country of Sangara, Isivita, and Hunjara the yam is grown extensively side by side with the taro, and the same is true among the tribes immediately north of the Hydrographers and Lamington foot-hills. By the time one has gone north as far as the Aiga people of the middle Opi, however, the yam-houses are no longer seen in the villages, and the yam has become a product of minor importance; and it continues so throughout the north of the Division. There is no reason, as far as I know, why the yam should not flourish on the plains, and the distribution presumably is not climatic but cultural.

713 So it might appear from a well-known story of the Orokaiva. In the hills to the southward there was a hole in the rocks, first discovered, according to one version of the legend, by the pecking of birds. Out of this hole, once opened, there issued a number of men bringing with them certain habits and possessions which they have distinctively retained. The first to emerge were the Orokaiva, who brought up the taro besides the other garden products—bananas, sugar-cane, and so forth. After them came the Kaume, or Managalasi, who wore numerous long pigtails, bound with bark. But as their forerunners had appropriated all the taro, they had to be content, for the main support of their existence, with yams.

This is merely the northern version of the legend. On its own ground, namely the southern slopes of the Hydrographers, it is told with greater detail, and they will even show the identical hole, I believe, somewhere on the Bariji river. It is said to be deep like a well, and

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The storing of yams is in the *haraa* or yam-houses, seen commonly in many of the southern villages of the division. The *haraa* usually takes the form of a small platform sheltered by a gabled roof in which there is a sort of attic. The platform is simply a place of social intercourse; the attic is the storehouse for yams. It is closed at either end, and thus dry and dark. When the yams are sprouting it is time for replanting.

Tauga (or *Okari*) are a very valuable asset, though I believe they are rare among the Aiga and the river people. In Wasida one may commonly see horizontal poles upon which are tied the large nuts, closely packed together. These poles are suspended across the fires, where they acquire a glossy blackness in the continual smoke. The shell is hard and has to be broken with one stone upon another. When one sees a stone embedded in the ground with a small hollow worn on the top, it is probably no more than a *Tauga*-breaking stone.

The fruit of the cycad *Puga* has to be immersed in running water for several months before it is edible. A man will take you down to some dark overgrown little stream, remove a stone from the bed, and reveal a nest of *Puga* nuts, from which the poison is slowly soaking away. When ready for eating the shell contains a brown pulpy material, strong flavoured, and highly appreciated in cookery.

Coco-nuts are accumulated, under strict taboo, for a feast. The huge coco-nut-laden tripod in the centre of the village, or the long lines of dry nuts on the ground, indicate that there is some entertainment pending towards which all the villagers will contribute. Sometimes one may see the tragedy of a feast over-long delayed and the nuts sprouting head high, too far gone to eat and perhaps too far gone to plant.

Certain other products might well enough lend themselves to storing or preservative treatment, though we need not be surprised that the native has made few essays in this direction. There is no dried sago; no banana